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ABSTRACT

The following problems in the field of educational organization are examined in terms of a Peruvian case study: prerequisites for community participation in national planning; national planning which starts at the local level; integration of formal and nonformal education programs at the local level to meet the needs of the total local population; integration of educational programs with other social development and production programs; and the extent to which local and regional authorities can act on their own in the face of barriers at the central level. Illustrating the manner in which these problems might be addressed, Peru's educational plan is described as one based upon the Community Education Nucleus (CEN) concept. CEN is described as involving many educational nuclei, each of which serves elementary and secondary education institutions within a prescribed area of control and includes the following hierarchical structure; a zonal chief; a sub-zonal coordinator; a CEN director supported by an administrative support unit, a community education council (parent, community, and teaching interests), and the educational development team (four specialists in kindergarten and basic regular education, extension education, basic laboral education, and student orientation and welfare). The aggregate of nuclei needs and plans is identified as constituting the zonal, regional, and national educational objectives. (JC)

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Administrative and organisational problems in rural education, with special attention to the modalities of community participation in decision-making

Raymond F. Lyons

A contribution to the IIEP Seminar on "The planning problems in rural education"
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INTRODUCTION

1. An issue before the seminar is the achievement of modernisation in the rural sector and whether, and if so how, education of different types might be conceived, planned, organised and co-ordinated so as to assist modernisation. In this regard, two views clash. First, that of proponents of provoked participation. They argue that the task of power, based on the town, must be to destroy the traditional backwardness of the countryside, replacing rural values by postulated national values, paying the necessary human and social cost of destroying the institutional barriers to technical progress. Liberalism, they assert, will not produce results other than an uneasy integration of rural people into a consumer society. Paid "animators" and unpaid, voluntary militants will provoke the convinced participation of the mass of the people, with the plan, the "anti-chance" bible of national will and guide-lines, held on high as the rallying point for popular work and struggle(1).

2. In response to this view, there is that of a second, reformist or liberal school of thinkers. They favour an experimental, improvement approach. They are suspicious of the effects of town (or Western) materialistic development on traditional rural attitudes. They consider that there are certain basic and unique values which are proper to the rural sector. They argue that it is "happiness" which matters and which can be achieved when there is no conflict between man and his environment physically or mentally(2). They do not accept that revolution has been proved as the sole and inescapable solution of the basic problems of rural development. They are not opposed to provoked participation and integrated, if limited, approaches to modernisation. They also favour other forms of voluntary and spontaneous participation. They are in favour of indicative planning.

3. These two viewpoints and power positions are reflected in the debate, and the practice, on how education in the rural environment should be developed(3). The first, linked with a political revolution, sees education in the rural environment as a task of remedying the backwardness of the rural

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(1) As discussed by Albert Meister in Participation, animation and development, Editions anthropos. Paris 1969.

(2) See, for example, Nicholas Bennett, Schooling and mass media : catalysts for cultural alienation and community destruction (unpublished paper).

(3) For this discussion, the four main headings under which educational needs can be grouped are taken from P.H. Coombs and M. Ahmed, Attacking rural poverty. They are :
a) general or basic education
b) family improvement education
c) community improvement education
d) occupational education.

rural areas and integrating them into national development(1), through the mobilisation, i.e. provoked (through the political system) participation of all available human resources for production, education and social development. While education is, in essential, the same in urban and rural areas, we can see from the examples referred to that the nature of rural production with which education is vitally and very closely linked, means that the communities have sought to solve their educational problems by mobilising available human resources in ad hoc ways which may possibly, but not necessarily, differ from those used in the towns. The decisive fact is that no obstacle, not even that of teachers' salaries, has been allowed to stand in the way of maximum utilisation of human resources for education.

4. In the second, improvement approach, considerable attention is now being given by national governments and by bilateral and international agencies to measures by which education in rural areas may be improved and may be better integrated with other economic and social development activities. At the heart of this heightened attention to rural development is the idea of greater participation by communities in the planning of decisions which affect them.

5. It is argued, by supporters of it, that participation will lead to more relevant decision-making, promote initiative and innovation, help mobilise resources at the local level and contribute to a reduction of social tensions. On the other hand, much depends on the nature of participation as between the community and the higher, central authority, i.e. to what extent can real power and control over resources be devolved from the higher to the lower authorities ? Participation can range from information to consultation, to effective sharing of decisions and their implementation. It would seem that there are two aspects to this process : the first is that the higher authority be prepared and decided to take the views of the community into account in decisions regarding education. The second is that the community should be able to mobilise itself in order to work out representative decisions and should possess the will and the competence to follow up their implementation. It may be the case that there are many contradictions which have to be resolved in order that this should be done.

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(1) See, for example, S. Chermouxamedov, Minister of Education for Uzbekistan, USSR, Education in Uzbekistan, its background and development (IIEP working paper, November 1974), and H.P. Lee, Education and rural development in China today, The World Year Book of Education 1974.

6. It may also be necessary to consider the motives which lead people to participate in educational programmes and in planning education. A study carried out in a developed-country environment shows that "not a large number of individuals, either in the school system or outside it, are attracted into educational participation at the policy level, even when access into it is open "(1). In rural areas of developing countries, either the élite participates or it is a matter of the élite, or some kind of élite, provoking the participation of the dispossessed, the poorest, by teaching them as Paulo Freire has put it "to hold history in their hands". Participation of the poorest is a matter of helping those whose consciousness is oppressed to advance. Freire characterises the oppressed consciousness as "a huge inferiority complex when faced with one who knows, a lack of self confidence and an overpowering belief in the invulnerability of the strong who oppress it"(2). In this sense, participation of the mass of the rural poor is usually dependent on the action of "educators" who want to help them advance. There may thus be a discrepancy between participation of the vocal minority and élite of a community and participation of the majority of the community. This difference should be borne in mind when considering what follows.

7. If the seminar is to reach conclusions on how education can assist modernisation in the rural sector, it should perhaps ask itself whether it really wants modernisation, with all that it means in terms of industrialisation, urbanisation and calling into question of traditional values ; or whether it prefers to do all that is possible to enshrine the image of Rousseau's noble savage. If the latter is the case, the seminar may wish to minimise the role of the state, the central government, and will wish traditional societies to develop free from "external pressures. There appears to be a very real conflict, in value terms, between the proponents of provoked participation who, relying on the convinced change agents in the rural areas, believe that the centre fixes clear guide-lines, dynamises, and the proponents of traditional, spontaneous participation who have no faith, or have lost any faith they had in the role of central government in the modernisation process.

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(1) Source : Nelly Stromquist and Rudolf Johnson, Who participates ? A field study of participation in planning in a school district, Stanford University, 1975

(2) See Paulo Freire, Literacy through conscientization, the Unesco International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, Teheran, 1974.

8. It is to be hoped that the seminar will give attention to the issue of why, today, together with a valuable emphasis on the need for greater attention to local needs in planning, one finds frequently an implicit or an explicit rejection of a useful central government planning role. Is this attitude a result of a conclusion that government bureaucracy is so incompetent and central government so blind to local and regional needs that central planning must be written off in favour of more limited approaches ? If this conclusion is generally held, then perhaps it merits more than to be mentioned as a self-evident truth before one passes on to the new revelation, or innovation, which can bring success in educational planning. If only because governments and aid agencies have devoted many hundreds of millions of dollars in the past decade to training personnel to man national administrations, particularly at the central level, it is perhaps necessary to analyse what has gone right or wrong with the mechanisms which should, and which have been intended to, ensure effective relations between the centre and the localities. If it is true, in some countries, that central administration is blind because the needs of the base are not known and taken into account, should we not study why this unhappy state of affairs has occurred and how it might be remedied ?

9. The view taken by seminar participants on the effectiveness of the role of the state and of central government has an important bearing on how they will approach the conception, planning and organisation of education in the rural environment. As regards general education, do they consider that, in principle, there are advantages that the central, national government should exercise supervision and control, guarantee rights, promote initiative, coordinate use of human and physical resources in the country as a whole, or do they think that control of this nature could with advantage be given up in whole or in part to regions, zones or districts ? This is a matter of quality (curriculum, teacher qualifications, books) and quantity ; the instruments of such control are the inspectorate and the administrative services. A second issue concerns the possibility of integration. In the educational sense, there is the problem of the role, if any, of central government in looking at general education in relation to the other types of needs for education mentioned by P.H. Coombs and M. Ahmed(1) with a view, perhaps, of taking measures which could assist them. In a wider sense, there is the question of how education might be better coordinated with production and with development and what the central government could do to promote such coordination and cooperation.

(1) M. Ahmed op.cit

10. The problems in the field of educational organisation which, therefore, seem to be of particular interest when community participation is looked at are the following :

(a) Is community participation compatible, and if so, to what extent, with national planning ? What are the pre-requisites for community participation ?

(b) Should traditional planning methods, which may, in some countries, imply the imposition of a centrally conceived plan for the country, be replaced by national planning which starts at the local level ?

(c) How can the various programmes of formal and non-formal education be integrated at the local level so that the needs of the whole population, rather than those of the school age population, may be met ?

(d) How can educational programmes be better integrated at the local and national levels with other programmes concerning production and social development in rural areas ?

(e) If the attitude of the central government to community participation is negative, or if the administrative barriers to such participation as between central and local government, are very great, to what extent can local or regional authorities act on their own ?

11. The aim of this paper is to serve as a basis for the seminar discussion of these issues in the light of the experience of developing countries. In preparing this paper we have taken the Peruvian example as a case study we prepared and which, it is hoped, can throw some light on the issues raised above.

TRADITIONAL PLANNING OF FORMAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION - THE PRE-REQUISITES FOR TAKING LOCAL NEEDS INTO ACCOUNT -

12. It is not easy to say what "traditional" planning really is, except that it is, notionally, a high-level national creation setting out objectives and that the relevance of its various composite parts to the entirety may often be rather generally defined ; for example, targets for enrolment may not be matched by specific and well-prepared programmes for the training of teachers. The main idea about traditional planning is that it is concerned with aggregate decisions about changing the educational system. One definition of it goes as follows : "Educational planning is the exercising of foresight in determining the policy, priorities and costs of an educational system, having due regard for economic and political realities, for the system's potential for growth, and for the needs of the country and of the pupils served by the system"(1).

13. The argument for community participation in national planning is that traditional educational planning does not take sufficient account of community, district or regional needs. It is suggested that it is concerned with aggregate enrolment targets, aggregate financial objectives in relation to other quantitative aggregates such as population growth or employment possibilities. But it may fundamentally and frequently embody a view from the top, based on often arbitrary premises about educational development and reform which may not take account of the specific steps needed to improve the usefulness and relevance of education in the rural areas.

14. These specific steps for changing the educational system may not be included in traditional plans unless information and evaluation have flowed from the bottom to the top, been tabulated and analysed and incorporated into proposals for educational planning. To take a particular example, if we look at formal education in Peru, we can observe that enrolment ratios are lower in the countryside than in the towns, that drop-out rates and repeating rates are higher particularly in single- or two-teacher schools, or in areas where Indian languages are the first languages of the children, and that transition rates from first- to second-level education are lower. The Peruvian authorities, despite considerable financial difficulties, are working in their planning at the national, regional and local levels to create the specific and necessary organisational arrangements which are intended to resolve these problems. In the Peruvian case, mechanisms linking the

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(1) Source : C.E. Beeby, Planning and the educational administrator, IIEP Fundamentals of Educational Planning.

educational communities with the zones and hence with the regions and the central Ministry have been established so that the plan and the two-year budget represents a meaningful response, in terms of a national law, to aggregate needs starting from the bottom at the local level.

15. In a more specific sense, the above example gives rise to a number of questions about the relationship between general planning decisions at the centre and the contribution which could be made to their formulation through a process of information from, and consultation with, the communities(1):

(a) What is the desirable profile of the teacher as a change agent in rural areas ? There is much evidence that teachers in single- and two-teacher schools do reasonably well in the sparsely populated rural areas of developed countries (e.g. Sweden, Norway, Scotland, Australia), but do not do well in such areas of developing countries. In Peru, as in other developing countries, there is a problem of qualifications and teachers' pay and conditions. There is also a problem of the isolation of the "urban-based" teacher from people in rural communities. The authorities seem very conscious of the need to make rural teachers change agents and thinking is directed to ways of integrating education with other development tasks, e.g. health, nutrition, food production.

(b) What is the necessary pattern of teacher support in rural areas ? This is a matter of the professional responsibilities and training of head teachers, who should perhaps be more than bureaucrats, and of the planned mobilisation of inspectors, advisers and resources. In planning terms, support would seem to mean the provision of the right people and training, relevant materials and adequate transport and the creation of conditions of teacher participation. In Peru, the arrangements as described below are intended to provide more effective professional support for the teachers.

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(1) For a discussion of the curriculum aspects, please see the paper by Messrs. T.N. Postlethwaite and K. King.

(c) What are the functions and design specifications of the rural school in view of the possible role of the school in rural development and need for multi-purpose development centres ? How can all rural schools be made to look in good repair, clean cheerful and colourful ? In Peru this task is among the objectives of the rural educational nuclei ; the problem is to mobilise the mass of the population to take an active interest in doing something themselves about it.

(d) Why are rural schools, in some countries, less well provided with books, writing materials, posters and visual aids than urban schools and what can be done to remedy this situation ? In Peru, this is a matter of limited funds and the specific teaching conditions in rural areas. In some developing countries it has been argued that teaching conditions would be improved if impoverished rural areas were under the development supervision of a special body, e.g. Sudene in Brazil, rather than part of the public educational system.

16. If it can be accepted that the role of the national government is to provide most of the money, teachers and human resources for education, what are the conditions for a clear connection between the rural local community, the bottom, and the central planning body at the top ? Perhaps the first is political in the sense of a commitment by the government to rural development, including education in the rural environment, and a political party network linking the centre to the communities. The second is an educational administration which has meaningful communications with the regions, zones and districts on needs for rural education, evaluation of existing educational progress and programmes and preparation of new ones. There are some educational administrations which appear to conduct no meaningful discourse on planning matters with the various levels of educational management ; their communications would seem to be limited to matters concerning the running of the system. In other administrations, meaningful delegation of powers in relation to expenditures and management has taken place as between the centre, the regions and the localities so that central educational plans and regional programmes have become more relevant to local rural conditions. In Northern Nigeria, for example, the existence of Local Education Authorities means that, in principle, State Ministries of Education should negotiate and have negotiated with the various LEAs concerning the relevance of educational targets to LEA needs and financing possibilities.

17. It would seem to follow from the above that the participation of communities in national educational plans might be seen more clearly if we attempt to answer the question of whether or not the aggregate plan contains reasoned provision for meeting needs for education which correspond to the totality of needs at the local level and which have been approved by the rural people through their representatives. There would be advantage also in studying the extent to which decisions, at the central level, have been made conditional on actual discussion by large numbers of citizens of the country concerned. In some countries it might be a progressive step if decisions were discussed within the educational system.

18. The study of the case of Peru shows that the authorities have found it necessary, as part of a more effective contact between levels of decision-making on education, to examine also whether the appropriate competent personnel responsible for the collection, analysis and preparation of statistics and planning proposals regarding enrolment and material resources, the preparation of school location maps, and so on, are employed at the zonal or district level and whether their communications upwards and downwards are adequate. In this connection, the question of administrative structures may be raised, i.e. whether the main functions of the central Ministry of Education need to be duplicated at the regional, zonal or district levels as, for example, in Peru and other Latin American countries, or whether the centre communicates directly with the district, as in Romania. This question is as relevant to plan implementation as it is to plan formulation. It may also be added that an improvement in the technical competence of educational administration at different levels does not necessarily solve the problem of decentralisation of powers. It is not only a matter of communication and competence, but also of satisfying local needs assessed by those closest to them.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING OF FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION. ORGANISATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL : THE PERUVIAN COMMUNITY EDUCATION NUCLEI

19. The Peruvian example goes beyond the information and consultation functions which have been discussed above, since it represents part of a more general attempt by the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, which came to power in 1968, to "end the alienation of the mass of the people from participation in the social and economic development of the country". The philosophy behind these changes does not appear to be associated with any political affiliation, although there are undoubtedly pressures that it should be, just as there are pressures that it should not be, but rather with the thinking of a group of military, academic and ecclesiastic scholars which has been advising the Government and which has stood outside the administrative structure of the state. The main thought embodied in this philosophy is that, hitherto, Peruvian life was dominated by groups of foreign and national exploiters while the mass of the people was alienated in work and life from participation in the social and economic development of the country.

20. Profound reforms affecting both internally- and externally-held power positions have therefore been introduced since 1968, involving significant changes in the ownership and control of certain resources and increased participation of the masses. An extensive land reform has been undertaken through which individual large landowners have been replaced by cooperatives and a national system of support for social mobilisation (SINAMOS) has been established to assist in the organisation and control of enterprises affected. Foreign-owned mines have been nationalised. Workers' participation in the ownership, operation and profits of industrial and commercial concerns is being progressively increased.

21. The reform of education (1972) was conceived as an attempt to "provide for the training of the Peruvian human being in all aspects of his personality ... and to ensure a constant inter-relation between school and community with full participation of all citizens"(1). As the Head of State put it, "Without an effective, profound and permanent transformation of Peruvian education, it is impossible to guarantee the success and the continuation of the other structural reforms of the revolution. Hence, the educational reform, the most complete hitherto, the most important of all, constitutes the essential pre-requisite for Peruvian development and the central objective of our revolution".

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(1) Salazar Bondy, "On educational reform in Peru", Prospects, Vol. II nº 4, 1972, Unesco.

22. The authorities intend that the reform of education should counteract the effects of deprived environment ; its scope and content should fit people better for life and work, and its organisation should be such that the masses of the people should participate in its development. It may be added that the reform is designed also to increase the scale and improve the relevance of part-time education through new types of study designed for town and country workers, and, in this connection, to reinforce the contacts in the provision of different types of education, between factories, farms, offices and the educational system. The reform of all levels of education is being progressively introduced from 1972 to 1980 : new curricula, teacher retraining, new books and materials have been prepared. At the same time, the education nuclei are being established at all levels of the educational system in order to ensure popular participation in the organisation of education.

23. The community education nucleus is a development from the pioneer work undertaken in Peru since 1960, in the establishment of rural educational nuclei. About 80 of these situated in the Andes or Amazon areas of the country will be incorporated by 1980 in the country-wide system of nuclei. They included some 10 to 12 schools in each nucleus, and were staffed by an educational director and three specialists in literacy, health and agriculture respectively. Their aim was to encourage educational, social and economic development in the rural environment but they did not succeed in this since the dimensions of the problem were out of proportion to the resources at their disposal.

24. The community educational nuclei represent an attempt to achieve a more complete mobilisation of education as a social function, so that the community is responsible for it and everyone in the community can benefit from it. To this end the nuclei represent one answer to the planning problem posed above. They are intended to be social micro-educational planning units which work out what needs for educational programmes of all types exist.

25. The aggregate of nuclei needs and plans constitute the zonal, regional and national objectives, subject to resource availabilities, for education. It should be noted that the nuclei are at the end of a very large bureaucracy consisting of national ministry (in Lima), region and zone, and that Peru has begun the task of conferring real, as distinct from formal, planning responsibility on the regions and zones. This involves making the nuclei do, in planning and participation, what they are intended to do. It also involves measures to incorporate into the normal administration of education at the different levels, the new bodies which came into being as part of the attempt to reform it.

26. The description of the objectives of the community educational nuclei, as contained in the articles of the relevant decree(1), makes it clear that, in the view of the Peruvian authorities, participation is not only compatible with national educational planning but is an essential prerequisite for it. The problem is to actually achieve it. Article 10 of the decree (in accordance with the General Law on Education) defines the objectives as follows :

"(a) Promote the cooperation and participation of the family and of the community in the educational enterprise assuring the community its right and its duty to participate in an organised way, directly or indirectly, individually or institutionally, in the educational process and as a result of the mobilisation of all its members and resources.

(b) To ensure the provision of adequate educational services for the benefit of the entire population within the territorial area of the educational nucleus, with the aim of offering equal and increasing educational opportunities.

(c) To integrate the educational centres of all levels and types within a functional network of an inter-connected character, by ensuring communication channels and coordination of actions as well as the optimum provision of resources.

(d) To ensure the best possible use of educational buildings and equipment, as well as those which exist in the territory and which could possibly be used for educational purposes.

(e) Promote inter-sectorial cooperation within the territorial area of the nucleus."

27. The new organisation of education combines direct responsibility for some institutions at the community level and for others at the zonal, regional and national levels. The community educational nucleus groups all public and private kindergartens, primary schools and colleges. It is also responsible for undertaking and supporting all the different types of out-of-school education required within the area. When the full nine years basic regular course, that is the reformed first-level and first cycle of second-level education and the ESEP (schools of professional education, first cycle of higher education), have been established as the result of the reform, the

(1) Ministry of Education, Regulations for community educational nuclei, Supreme Decree nº 005-73-ED, Lima, 1973.

latter will be the responsibility of the zone which, at present, supervises the second cycle of secondary education. Teacher training colleges are supervised by the regions, of which there are nine in Peru. Institutions of higher education (second- and third-level) are the responsibility of the appropriate department of the National Ministry of Education, according to the status of the institution concerned. The community education nuclei are supervised by the zone. The number of institutions included in each nucleus varies according to the density of the population : in sparsely populated rural areas, there may be ten or less institutions in each nucleus, whereas in urban areas as many as forty institutions of different types may be included.

28. The base for the activities of the community educational nucleus is usually a large secondary school or in rural areas a large primary institution. Normally a school director and his staff have made room for the nucleus director and his staff, i.e. the administrative support unit, lent them furniture, share their telephones with them, and so on. Since the director's secretary and administrative support unit usually consists, altogether, of not more than two persons, the base frequently borrows typewriters, calculating machines and personnel also. In the plans prepared by various nuclei, there is reference to the building, in each nucleus, of a centre which would group all the in-school and out-of-school educational and cultural activities of the community. This would seem a rational solution, particularly in rural areas where the coordination of a number of social and productive activities suggests the need to establish an independent nucleus building. The solution is, however, subject to the considerable shortage of funds with which the Peruvian educators must seek to work.

29. The director of the nucleus is selected by the zonal educational authority, rather than elected by the population of the area, from a list of applicants for a non-renewable period of three years. He is required to be of Peruvian nationality and a fully qualified teacher with more than five years' service, who is engaged in teaching in the educational zone where the nucleus is to be established. He is expected to be fully conversant with and sympathetic to the educational reform. If possible, he should have followed a retraining course and should have had some experience of community work. The director of the nucleus is the technical and administrative chief for the general supervision of all formal and out-of-school state and private institutions. In this capacity, he is required to prepare and implement plans, promote particular studies, ensure the development of the teaching force, liaise with teacher training colleges

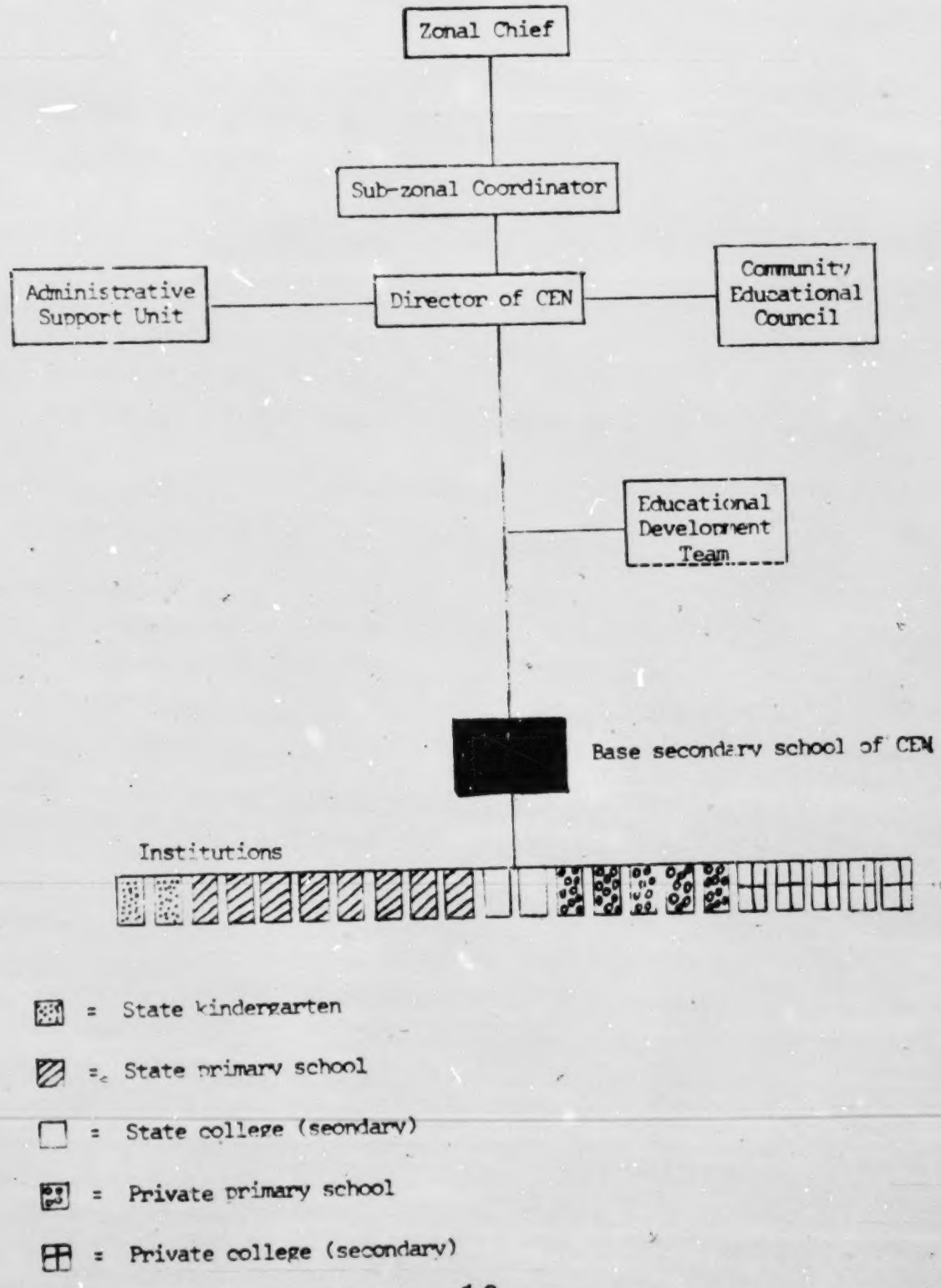
and professional training institutions and follow all policies as laid down by the zone office and by his advisory body. The post of director of a nucleus is a full-time one, but exceptionally he may also direct the institution which serves as a base, i.e. which is either the first- or second-level school.

30. The structure of the nucleus is shown in Chart I. The Community Education Council is an extremely important body as concerns the eventual development of community participation in the running of education at the local level. The Council advises the director on all matters concerning education in the community and institutionalises the participation of the community in education. It is made up of not more than 20 members or less than 10, elected by secret ballot by the three communities involved as designated in the reform law. Of these three communities, 40 per cent represent the teaching profession, 30 per cent parents of pupils, and 30 per cent other local sectors of cultural, social and professional community life, with the exclusion of political parties. The three communities elect their representatives for a period of three years, by vote on the occasion of the general assemblies ; a third of the elected body is renewed each year. The procedures by which these votes are organised and the composition of the voting body are not stipulated in the decree.

31. As an example of the composition of the Council itself, in one Community Education Council in the 4th zone of the Lima Metropolitan Region, the teaching profession is represented by three persons from private secondary schools and from a private kindergarten, one each from a state primary and a state kindergarten and two from state colleges of secondary education. The parents' representation consists of three parents from private secondary colleges, one from a state secondary college, one from a primary school and one from a state kindergarten. The third group, namely the "community of authorities and institutions" is represented by the Mayor, a member of the Lions Club of the district, a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, a member of the Peruvian Telephone Company, one from the Rotary Club of the district and one from the local police commissariat. This example indicates that one of the problems which faces the authorities when undertaking arrangements for participation of local authorities and institutions, is whether to ensure participation of finance-providers or whether to mobilise representatives of the mass of the population for committee work.

Chart I

Structure of a Community Education Nucleus



32. This problem is of some importance in relation to one of the tasks of the Council, namely to form committees for educational action of different types. These committees, which may be temporary or permanent, are made up of volunteers drawn from the three groups or communities mentioned above. It is intended that these committees will work with the director of the nucleus and with the educational development team of the nucleus in order to make sure that the educational objectives and plans as defined by the nucleus are truly representative.

The work of the educational development team

33. The functions of the educational development team, as defined by Article 44 of the decree, are :

"(a) Carry out the process of plan formulation for the nucleus, in accordance with the guidance received from the direction of the nucleus, and participate in the control and evaluation of plans.

(b) Participate in the implementation and control of special projects which are adopted by the direction of the nucleus.

(c) Draw up and bring up to date the school location map of the nucleus.

(d) Assist the director of the nucleus in respect of technical and pedagogical matters."

34. It will be seen from the chart that each nucleus includes an educational development team with a staff of usually four specialists : one in initial (kindergarten) and basic regular education, one in extension education, one in basic laboral, and one in orientation and welfare of the pupil. They are trained teachers who have been recruited by the zonal educational authorities on the basis of their experience, enthusiasm for the reform and normally their participation in special short training courses. These specialists are not polyvalent and the workload for the specialist in initial and basic regular education is much greater than that for his or her colleagues.

35. The organisation of work of the four specialists in one of the rural nuclei visited was as follows :

(a) Initial and basic regular education

Thorough meetings with teachers and class supervision of grade 1 teachers, to ensure that the new method of reading using the reformed text was mastered. Teaching the new techniques for the application of targets for work in the new programme for school mathematics. Advising on techniques for the use of the new writing exercise book. Ensuring that

the new arrangements for pupil evaluation and the planning of the curriculum were applied in initial education and grades 1 and 2 of basic. Advising the procedure to be followed in the adapted programmes. Providing teaching in new methods of modern mathematics teaching for teachers of grades 4 and 5 of the basic course. Helping teachers understand group dynamics in the organisation of class work.

(b) Basic laboral (i.e. basic regular on a part-time basis)

Evaluating the pupils of the first cycle in order to classify them. Working out with the teachers the detailed curriculum for the second cycle. Forming workshops in order to develop the areas of work training for the second cycle. Helping draw up adapted programmes for the fourth and fifth years. Training the teachers of basic laboral in language and mathematics teaching.

(c) Extension education

Carrying out the survey of "the economic and social reality" of the nucleus with the collaboration of teachers and pupils of the fourth and fifth years of basic education. Helping form popular libraries in the community. Organising literacy classes within the nucleus population. Undertaking courses for teachers of extension education. Organising a seminar for the diffusion of the reform for teachers and parents. Organising inter-school sports competitions. Organising cultural clubs for the nucleus. Directing the establishment of a centre for training in artisanal production.

An example of the work of the laboral and extension specialists, who work together, was the organisation, during the long school vacation, of well-attended adult courses in the nucleus area in cooking, painting, theatre, dress-making, carpentry and electrical work.

(d) Pupil orientation and welfare

Holding meetings with teachers on guidance and pupil welfare. Ensuring that they are familiar with the principles of physico-mental development and maturation of the child in grade 1. Carrying out the "guidance for health" programme. Undertaking with teachers and parents the programme of sexual education for pupils. Realising programmes of family guidance as concerns inter-personal relationships. Ensuring, with the health and other authorities, that an infants' creche is established for the nucleus. Directing the establishment of a specialised institution for exceptional children. Drawing up a complete

data history on individual pupils. In rural areas, it may be noted that an important duty of the specialist is to ensure that all children who are under-nourished, in some cases about half of the total number of pupils, receive additional milk, bread and soya, supplied by the authorities.

36. The work of the specialist personnel in the nuclei seems to be of great importance as far as decisions taken by the teaching staff in the schools with regard to their work are concerned. In the main, the work of the nucleus specialist appears to be welcomed by teachers in rural areas, many of whom are not professionally as well qualified as those regularly employed in urban schools. But the main organisational problem is not so much the fact that the teachers need to improve their methods of teaching - this is, of course, an extremely important problem, particularly as the curriculum and methods of teaching have been changed as a result of the reform - the main problem is one of material organisation, namely that the state of repair of the schools is a source of grave anxiety to the teachers, that there is a shortage of furniture, books and teaching materials and that, in general, there is a problem of coordinating material help and professional help from the higher zonal, regional or national levels. This problem would seem to be particularly difficult as far as the laboral (evening classes) are concerned. With regard to these, it appeared that there was a serious problem of inadequate participation by the teachers in solving certain difficulties and this, in the cases which are known to the writer, may be due to the fact that many evening-class teachers undertake this work in addition to their regular day-time teaching.

37. An analysis of the work of the specialists and of the Educational Councils shows that it is crucial that community energies should be mobilised and teacher energies should be mobilised for education. But it remains to be seen whether the major effort of staffing the nuclei, zones, regional and national headquarters will be matched by a widespread and sustained community effort. The funds available for education from Government, regional and state sources are limited, and therefore the decisive test for the usefulness of the nuclei form of participation is whether the energies of the local people can be mobilised in order to make good some of the main material and professional defects which exist in the schools. The spirit of the reform is that, in order to counteract the feeling of individual defeat and non-participation in the life of the community, schools should be solidly built,

painted, furnished and bright with posters, maps and flowers. It is also vital that the teachers, in order to benefit from the apparently very useful help provided by the specialists, should not be hampered by the shortages of relevant books, manuals and working materials and that teachers of a new type with their "roots" in rural communities should be trained and retrained. The schools in the nuclei which we visited were, in general, grim places, in poor repair, in need of paint, lacking in colour and short of furniture, books and learning materials, and the teachers in rural schools lived, to a large extent, in towns, commuting where the terrain permitted each day. The essential problem is whether the conditions can be created whereby communities and the teachers regard the school as "their thing". A start has been made and there are examples, as yet relatively few, of parents' groups which, with teacher support, have undertaken substantial practical work for the schools. But there would seem to be a problem of identification of the mass of the people with the school and this may, in part, be related to the nature of the selection of the bodies advising the director and the method of selection of the advisory committee.

38. One of the problems which the Peruvian authorities are at the moment studying at the local, rural, level is how the work of the Community Education Council can be further coordinated with that of the representatives of other Ministries and bodies in relation to agricultural production, mining, fisning health and nutrition. Coordination is, at present, partial only, and there is not a general, politically-led system of cooperatives being created, as for example in Tanzania, which aims in low income rural areas to organise production and educational progress in relation to the objective of improving rural life. Thus, the Ministries of Agriculture and Mining have much transport, the Ministry of Education very little. Another problem connected with the fragmentation of organisational control at the local level is that educational programmes, other than those related to formal education are not yet at a stage where the nucleus coordinates the efforts to meet the needs of all the population within the nucleus area. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underrate the progress in a formal and legal sense of the Peruvian reform, and it remains to be seen whether or not the pattern of participation created can be made to live and to realise the educational reform.

A coordinated special area approach or improvements in sector planning ?

39. The Peruvian example of, as yet, limited popular participation in the restructuring of the socio-economic system, including the peasantry and education, raises the question of whether the existence of a strong state bureaucracy need not prevent, and can even favour, decision-making by, and in the interests of, rural communities. As yet, there is no evidence of coordinated measures to resolve the general problems of development of the poorest rural areas, but this may not always be the case. There are interesting examples of action in other countries taken at the regional or zonal levels or of special bodies which are given responsibility for development of a determined region, e.g. Sudene in Brazil, where the general role of central government is, to some extent, replaced by a specific regional or area role of a special organisation.

40. The arguments for the establishment of special rural area development bodies are that more money and resources can be specifically coordinated by the body concerned for economic development, education and training, and health, in a way that is not possible when, in the normal run of administration (or lack of it), the rural areas are right at the end of the centre, regional, zone, district line and get very little. Thus, conceptually, a development fund for the most depressed rural areas could experiment with new solutions for production, education and so on, which could not be feasibly introduced, for resource as well as administrative reasons, in the country as a whole. Such experimental solutions could come closer to meeting the objective and expressed needs of the rural population.

41. The arguments against the establishment of special rural area development bodies, which do not at present function in Peru, are that, in allocating resources to a special body, the authorities may implicitly or explicitly leave the major problem of making the state bureaucracy, as a whole, work in abeyance. Whatever the merits of the above arguments, a number of governments are practising or envisaging measures by which the special needs of the population of the poorest rural areas may be met(1). In particular, the needs of these areas are seen to require a coordinated approach, in which education is one element in a series of actions designed to promote economic and social development.

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(1) See for example, Ministry of Education, Caracas Venezuela, Diagnosis of the situation of education in the marginal frontier zones of the country. Caracas, March 1975.

CONCLUSIONS

42. It seems necessary to study the ways, in administration, planning and plan implementation, by which the necessary conciliation between the national and local systems of education can be brought about. It seems necessary to examine the linkages in terms of what the centre intends, what the localities need, and what is really done. The central role of quality control and quantity provision and control represents part of the study, since the centre provides, or is responsible for, most of the finance, trained personnel and other resources. The local role of mobilisation of the population for education represents the other part of the study, since the struggle of the people for education, and the decisions communities take to get it, is the crucial test of central/local relations. In examining the mechanisms which ensure relations between the centre and the localities and the functions served, it is necessary to identify the factors which help or hinder the conciliation of national objectives and local needs.

43. Attention might therefore be given to the study of ways of arriving at target decisions at the national level and of the information flows and consultation processes involved in the formulation of such decisions, the question being whether national decisions are sufficiently relevant to regional, zonal and local requirements. In this regard, the Peruvian example of building up the plan from the nuclei, zone or region, according to the level of education, is of interest. There is also the study of management, i.e. of how decisions are implemented in resource allocation. Some authorities have drawn negative conclusions from the functioning of national educational bureaucratic structures. They urge decentralisation of decision-making and of control of resources for implementation. There is also some support for integrated agencies for development of impoverished regions. But the question is whether decentralisation and integrated "autonomous" agencies are an alternative to central planning or a supplement to it.

44. It would seem that the notion of community participation in decision-making must depend, if it is to become real, on an understanding of the nature of the community, of the conflict of interests within it and of the difficulty of achieving autonomous as distinct from provoked participation. Perhaps, in the poorest rural areas, participation must depend on the awareness by the majority of where their interests lie and on their desire to fight for their interests. Much would seem to depend on political leadership, which can either ensure mass participation in educational

programmes at the community level, or which may find difficulties in ensuring it. It would also seem that, even in cases where traditional values are being maintained unchanged as, for example, in the Thai adult education programmes, the impetus for community participation in decision-making comes, as in Peru, from outside the community.

45. A distinction may also be drawn between participation by teachers, parents and the community in the running of the existing educational system and educational programmes and the elaboration and implementation of changes designed to reform them. The Peruvian case shows that reforms which are developed by special agencies working outside the educational administration require, for their implementation, to be thoroughly integrated within the educational administration and well understood by the rural communities. In both these regards, the role of the teacher can be decisive, and much attention should be given to the definition of the profile of and ways of producing and using teachers who are truly change agents and of the support organisation which teachers require.

46. In another sense, participation in relation to education is connected with and conditioned by how the community participates in the development of production and what the community does about its social structures and the social thinking in the community. Education is not a thing on its own, and the community may adapt education programmes, both formal and, with greater difficulty as Peru shows, non-formal, to integrated development in its locality if there is clear leadership in policy, in people and in resources from outside. This is a matter of either adapting the general lines of modernisation and of change to local needs, cultural development and other characteristics, or of not breaking the impediments to needed change.